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WEEKLY PEOPLE.



NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 31, 1902.

VOL. XII. NO. 9.

PRICE TWO CENTS.

LOOMFIXERS STAY OUT.

THEIR ACTION STRENGTHENS STRIKERS' POSITION.

CLOSE OF THE 18TH WEEK OF THE STRIKE FINDS SITUATION FIRMER THAN EVER—ENTHUSIASTIC MASS MEETING OF THE STRIKERS HELD SUNDAY.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., May 26.—The 18th week of the strike of the weavers of the American Woolen Company against the double-loop weaving of fancy worsteds has passed, and the situation that now exists appears to be more in the nature of a deadlock than at any time since the beginning of the trouble.

The reports of willingness on the part of local managers to make satisfactory settlement, which were caused to be circulated in the past fortnight, were shown to be misleading when Manager Ward of the Riverside Mills made in the past week his statement that the double-looms would not be singled out, and that no concessions would be made.

The loomfixers had been largely instrumental in circulating the reports of a desire on the part of the company to make a satisfactory settlement through its local agents with committees of weavers. With such an understanding a number of loomfixers who have been out in sympathy with the weavers were contemplating measures for a return to work.

A week ago they postponed action a week with an understanding that the weavers were to seek such conferences for a satisfactory settlement. Ward's statement, together with knowledge obtained that an authorized statement for the company had been issued in New York, declaring that the preceding conciliatory talk was not authorized, showed that the company did not intend to make a satisfactory settlement through such conferences, and they were not asked.

The loomfixers, as well as the weavers, arrived at a conclusion that the strike leaders were not disposed to delay any chance of settlement, and when the time came for the postponed meeting of the loomfixers yesterday few were disposed to consider a return to work without a settlement.

Some expectations had been aroused that in the course of the controversy regarding the willingness of the managers to make a satisfactory settlement with committees of their own weavers a break in the ranks would occur. But that was disposed of when the strike leaders proceeded with plans to arrange for such committees to be sent to the managers. And then came the statement that the looms were not to be singled out, nor were there any concessions to be made.

It was reported yesterday that two of the loomfixers were going to insist upon a vote to return to work. About 35 loomfixers were at the meeting. The situation was discussed exhaustively and two of the number present urged such action. But the whole matter was laid on the table indefinitely, and no change was wrought in the situation.

There was a mass meeting of the striking weavers yesterday afternoon at Textile Hall. There was a general discussion of the situation, and the weavers were told of the coup executed by Anthony McDonald of the executive board in bringing to Oineyville the party of Hebrew weavers who had been induced to go to Plymouth on Saturday.

The weavers were elated and the visitors who had refused to stay and work in Plymouth after having learned about the strike, were treated very cordially. It was represented that these weavers from New Jersey were told that they were wanted to work in the Washington Mills, where the strike had been settled, but instead of being taken to Lawrence they were sent to Plymouth, and on the train going there they met McDonald, who explained the situation. It was further said that weavers were needed there because many of the mill workers owned farms and left the mills in the spring to till them.

In a meeting of the executive board last evening measures were taken to have pickets at convenient points to intercept such parties of workers being taken to mills on strike, and trains at certain points will be closely watched in the coming week.

The executive board announced that offers of employment for 67 weavers have been received from mills in the vicinity of Weonocket and Hyde Park.

TRUST HUNTING WEAVERS.

PROMISE TO BREAK SILK WEAVERS INTO THE BUSINESS.

THE WOOLEN TRUST IS SCOURING THE COUNTRY IN AN EFFORT TO GET WEAVERS TO TAKE THE PLACE OF THE MEN ON STRIKE IN ITS VARIOUS MILLS.

AGENTS OF THE TRUST HAVE BEEN WORKING IN PATERSON, N. J., WHERE THERE ARE MANY SILK WEAVERS ON STRIKE. THESE WEAVERS ARE TOLD THAT THEY CAN READILY ADAPT THEMSELVES TO WOOLEN WEAVING AND ARE PROMISED \$2 A DAY WHILE LEARNING, FARE AND ALL EXPENSES PAID. THE TRUST AGENT TELLS THEM THAT THERE IS NO STRIKE IN THE MILLS. THAT IT IS BECAUSE OF THE BIG ORDERS AHEAD AND THE SCARCITY OF WEAVERS THAT THEY SEEK NEW MEN. TWO MEN INTERCEPTED AT PLYMOUTH, MASS., BY

THE STRIKERS WERE FROM PATERSON; THEY WILL ARRIVE HOME AGAIN TODAY.

A MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE STRIKERS VISITED PATERSON YESTERDAY, AND DISTRIBUTED LITERATURE WARNING THE PATERSON WEAVERS OF THE TRUE STATE OF AFFAIRS. MEETINGS HAVE BEEN ARRANGED FOR TODAY AT WHICH FURTHER INFORMATION WILL BE GIVEN.

THE STRIKERS HAVE LEARNED THAT ATTEMPTS HAVE BEEN MADE TO SECURE WEAVERS IN EUROPE AND A VIGILANT WATCH IS BEING KEPT UPON INCOMING STEAMERS TO SEE THAT THE CONTRACT LABOR LAW IS NOT VIOLATED.

A PLEA FOR GENERAL SMITH.

A BIBLE STUDENT ON THE FAMOUS "KILL ALL OVER TEN" ORDER.

THE EASTON, PA., "SUNDAY CALL" IN ITS ISSUE OF MAY 11 PUBLISHES THE FOLLOWING UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION TO THE DISCUSSION AFFECTING THE ORDER OF GENERAL SMITH TO MAKE SAMAR A HOWLING WILDERNESS:

"FAIR PLAY FOR GENERAL SMITH."

"A LOT OF GOODY-GOODY SYMPATHETIC PEOPLE ARE MAKING A LOT OF NOISE ABOUT THE ORDER THAT GENERAL SMITH ISSUED DIRECTING THAT A CERTAIN ONE OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS SHOULD BE MADE 'A HOWLING WILDERNESS' AND THAT EVERY PERSON ABOVE THE AGE OF TEN YEARS FOUND ON IT SHOULD BE KILLED. THESE PEOPLE LIFT UP THEIR HANDS IN HOLY HORROR AT THE ORDER, AND CONGRESSMAN SIBLEY OF OUR OWN STATE DELIVERED HIMSELF OF A SPEECH IN WHICH HE CALLED GENERAL SMITH A FIEND, SAID HE WAS A DISGRACE TO THE UNION ARMY AND SHOULD BE DISHONORABLY DISMISSED BEFORE THE GOING DOWN OF THE SUN."

"I AM LESS ASTONISHED AT THE VIOLENT LANGUAGE USED AGAINST GENERAL SMITH BY THESE LATTER-DAY HUMANITARIANS THAN AT THEIR IGNORANCE OF THE EXAMPLE FURNISHED GENERAL SMITH FOR HIS MOST LENIENT ORDER. THESE PEOPLE MAY KNOW CONSIDERABLE ABOUT MODERN CIVILIZATION, AND HOW WARFARE SHOULD BE CARRIED ON, WHEN IT CANNOT BE AVOIDED, WITHOUT KILLING NON-COMBATANTS, BUT THEY ARE SUPREMELY IGNORANT OF THE TEACHINGS OF THE BIBLE AND THE WILL OF GOD AS TO HOW PRISONERS, WOMEN AND CHILDREN, SHOULD BE DEALT WITH THAT BECOME CAPTIVES."

"BEFORE CENSURING GENERAL SMITH LET THEM TURN TO THEIR BIBLES AND READ THE THIRTY-FIRST CHAPTER OF NUMBERS, THE FIRST VERSE OF WHICH READS: 'AND THE LORD SPOKE UNTO MOSES SAYING: 'AVENGE THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL OF THE MIDIANITES.' THE WAR WAS STARTED IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE LORD'S ORDER, AND UNDER HIS SPECIAL DIRECTION. ACTING UNDER THE DIVINE COMMAND MOSES MOBILIZED AN ARMY OF TWELVE THOUSAND MEN. NOW READ THE SEVENTH VERSE: 'AND THEY WARRIED AGAINST THE MIDIANITES, AS THE LORD COMMANDED MOSES, AND THEY SLEW ALL THE MALES.' EVEN THE LITTLE CHAPS UNDER TEN YEARS WERE KILLED BY THE VALIANT MEN OF ISRAEL, ACCORDING TO GOD'S DIRECTION, IF THE INSPIRED WRITER IS CORRECT. IN THE NINTH VERSE WE READ: 'AND THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL TOOK ALL THE WOMEN OF MIDIAN CAPTIVES, AND THEIR LITTLE ONES.' PRESUMABLY THE LATTER WERE ALL THOSE GIRLS, BECAUSE IN THE SEVENTH VERSE WE HAD READ 'ALL MALES' HAD BEEN SLAIN."

"WHEN THE SOLDIERS RETURNED WITH THEIR PRISONERS AND SPOOLS (SEE VERSES 12 AND 13) MOSES AND ELIEZAR, THE HIGH PRIEST, AND A NUMBER OF OTHER DIGNITARIES, WENT OUT TO MEET THE VICTORIOUS ARMY. NOW MOSES, WHO ALWAYS SPOKE BY AUTHORITY, FROM GOD, GOT VERY WROTHY AND ANGRY WHEN HE SAW THAT ONLY THE MALE MIDIANITES HAD BEEN KILLED, AND HE SAID TO THE RETURNING SOLDIERS: 'HAVE YOU SAVED ALL THE WOMEN ALIVE?... NOW THEREFORE KILL EVERY MALE AMONG THE LITTLE ONES, AND KILL EVERY WOMAN THAT HATH KNOWN MAN BY LYING WITH HIM.' AND I PRESUME THE LORD'S COMMAND WAS DULY EXECUTED, ALTHOUGH THE WRITER GIVES NO PARTICULARS OF WHAT NOWADAYS WOULD BE TERMED MASACRE."

"SPEAKING OF THE NEED FOR RESCUE WORK, MRS. ANNABLE SAID SHE HAS THE RECORD OF 800 DESCENDANTS OF A WOMAN WHO DIED IN BROOKLYN IN 1827 AT THE AGE OF FIFTY-ONE. THAT WOMAN KEPT A HOUSE OF ILL FAME AND WAS A DRUNKARD. OF HER DESCENDANTS 700 HAVE BEEN IN JAIL, 342 WERE CONFIRMED DRUNKARDS, 127 WOMEN WERE IMMORAL BY THEIR OWN CONFESSION AND 37 PAID THE LAW'S PENALTY FOR MURDER."

MRS. ANNABLE DECLINED TO GIVE THE NAME OF THE ERRING BRIDE ON THE GROUND THAT SHE DID NOT THINK TO DO SO WOULD BE IN LINE WITH HER DEPARTMENT OF RESCUE WORK. THE NAME OF THE WOMAN WHO DIED IN 1827 SHE ALSO REFUSED TO DIVULGE FOR THE SAKE OF THE HUNDRED DESCENDANTS WHO WERE NEVER IN JAIL."

DRINKING IN HIGH LIFE.

W. C. T. U. REGALE BY SENSATIONAL REPORTS.

TIME EXTENDED TO SPEAKER WHO TOLD OF DRUNKENNESS AMONG WOMEN AND OF WOMEN WHO ACT AS AGENTS FOR LICENTIOUS MEN.

FRENCH ELECTIONS.

THE COMPLETE RETURNS PLACE 14 BONA FIDE SOCIALISTS IN THE CHAMBER.

THE PARIS, FRANCE, "LE SOCIALISTE," ORGAN OF THE PARTI OUVRIER FRANCAIS (FRENCH SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY), WITH DATE OF MAY 11, BRINGS THE FINAL RESULTS OF THE LATE FRENCH ELECTIONS FOR DEPUTIES TO THE CHAMBER. THE REBELLIONS RESULTED IN THE ELECTION OF THE FOLLOWING CANDIDATES OF THE "UNITED REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS":

P. CONSTANS, IN THE 2D DISTRICT OF MONLUCON (DEPARTMENT OF ALLIER), WITH 9,346 VOTES.

BARON, IN THE 1ST DISTRICT OF AIX (DEPARTMENT OF MOUTHS OF THE RHONE) WITH 6,551.

J. BENEZECH, IN THE DISTRICT OF MONTPELIER (DEPARTMENT OF HERAULT) WITH 8,702 VOTES.

J. DUFOUR IN ISSONDUN (DEPARTMENT OF ISERE) WITH 6,379.

A. ZEVAS, IN THE 2D DISTRICT OF GRENOBLE (DEPARTMENT OF ISERE) WITH 10,934 VOTES.

G. DELORY IN THE 3D DISTRICT OF LILLE (DEPARTMENT OF THE NORTH) WITH 8,904 VOTES.

SALLE IN THE 3D DISTRICT OF VALENCLENNES (DEPARTMENT OF THE NORTH), WITH 11,473 VOTES.

CHAUVIERE, IN THE 2D DISTRICT OF 15TH ARRONDISSEMENT OF PARIS (DEPARTMENT OF THE SEINE), WITH 6,198 VOTES.

WALTER, IN THE 2D DISTRICT OF SAINT DENIS (DEPARTMENT OF SEINE), WITH 10,164 VOTES.

THESE, TOGETHER WITH THE 5 ELECTED AT THE FIRST BALLOT, AND ALREADY REPORTED IN THESE COLUMNS, RAISES THE NUMBER OF THE BONA FIDE SOCIALIST DELEGATION IN THE CHAMBER TO 14. THESE 5 WERE THIVIER (DEPARTMENT OF ALLIER), SAMBAT, JEANTE, VAUCLANT AND CONSTANT (DEPARTMENT OF SEINE).

LABOR'S RISK.

COURT DECISIONS MAKE IT MORE FAR REACHING THAN EVER.

THE "TIMES" SUMS UP THE FOLLOWING INTERESTING CASE:

ASSUMPTION OF RISK.—HERBERT J. RICE, WHILE ENGAGED IN FEEDING A RAG CUTTER, IN THE FACTORY OF THE EUREKA PAPER COMPANY AT OSWEGO FALLS, N. Y., HAD HIS HAND CAUGHT IN A LOOP OF STRINGS AMONG THE RAGS AND BEFORE HE COULD EXTRICATE IT WITH HIS OTHER HAND BOTH WERE DRAWN INTO THE CUTTER. THE ENTIRE RIGHT HAND WITH ALL THE FINGERS ON THE LEFT BUT ONE WERE CUT OFF. THE RAG CUTTER WAS NOT FITTED WITH A BELT SHIFTER OR OTHER DEVICE BY WHICH IT COULD BE STOPPED QUICKLY IN CASE OF EMERGENCY. RICE HAD WORKED FOR THE FACTORY FOR A YEAR, AND WAS FULLY AWARE OF THE DANGERS TO BE APPREHENDED FROM AN ABSENCE OF THESE DEVICES. A JUDGMENT IN HIS FAVOR IN AN ACTION AGAINST THE EUREKA PAPER COMPANY TO RECOVER DAMAGES HAS BEEN REVERSED BY THE APPELLATE DIVISION, THE COURT HOLDING, BY JUSTICE MCLENNAN, THAT RICE ASSUMED THE RISK INCIDENT TO HIS EMPLOYMENT. "THE PLAINTIFF," SAYS JUSTICE MCLENNAN, "AT THE TIME OF THE ACCIDENT WAS FORTY YEARS OF AGE, WAS ORDINARILY BRIGHT AND INTELLIGENT, HAD TENDED THE MACHINE IN QUESTION FOR MORE THAN A YEAR, WAS ENTIRELY FAMILIAR WITH ITS CONSTRUCTION AND OPERATION, KNEW THAT IT WAS NOT PROVIDED WITH A BELT SHIFTER OR BELT TIGHTENER, FULLY UNDERSTOOD THAT PROPER PROVISION HAD NOT BEEN MADE FOR STOPPING THE MACHINE, AND KNEW AND APPREHENDED THE DANGERS INCIDENT THERETO. THE MACHINE WAS SUITABLE FOR THE WORK IT WAS INTENDED TO DO, ALL THE PARTS WERE PERFECT, AND ALL APPLIANCES NECESSARY OR CONVENIENT FOR ITS USE WERE SUPPLIED EXCEPT A BELT SHIFTER OR BELT TIGHTENER, WHICH WOULD HAVE ENABLED THE PLAINTIFF TO STOP THE MACHINE AT WILL AND ALMOST INSTANTLY, BUT THAT SUCH APPLIANCES HAD NOT BEEN FURNISHED AND WERE NOT IN USE WAS APPARENT AND WAS KNOWN TO THE PLAINTIFF. HE ALSO KNEW THE DANGER TO BE APPREHENDED FROM A FAILURE TO USE SUCH DEVICES. IF NO OTHER FACTS EXISTED, CLEARLY THE PLAINTIFF ASSUMED THE RISK OF HIS EMPLOYMENT, AND WOULD NOT BE ENTITLED TO RECOVER." THE DEFENDANT'S SUPERINTENDENT HAD PROMISED RICE THAT A SHIFTER WOULD BE ADJUSTED, AND SUCH SHIFTER WAS ACTUALLY IN THE FACTORY AT THE TIME OF THE ACCIDENT, WAITING TO BE PUT IN PLACE, AND ON THIS PROMISE JUSTICES SPRING AND DAVY DISSENT, SAYING THAT A PROMISE BY A MASTER TO A SERVANT THAT HE WILL REPAIR A DEFECT IN A MACHINE IS EQUIVALENT TO SAYING THAT HE WILL ASSUME THE RISK OF THE DEFECTIVE MACHINERY INSTEAD OF THE EMPLOYEE.

CHILD LABOR LAW VIOLATION SUITS.

PATERSON, N. J., May 19.—SUITS HAVE BEEN FILED IN THE DISTRICT COURT AGAINST ULRICH & CO., OF RAILROAD AVENUE, MANUFACTURERS OF REED AND HARNESS SUPPLIES, FOR THE RECOVERY OF THE \$50 PENALTY IMPOSED BY THE STATE FOR EMPLOYING CHILD LABOR.

THE SUIT HAS BEEN BROUGHT BY FREDERIC VAN BLARCOM, AS COUNSEL FOR STATE FACTORY AND WORKSHOP INSPECTOR JOHN C. WARD, WHO HAS TAKEN ACTION FOLLOWING A REPORT MADE BY DEPUTY INSPECTOR HERBERT WELLS, OF THIS DISTRICT.

IN ADDITION TO THE SUIT AGAINST ULRICH & CO., A SUIT HAS BEEN BROUGHT AGAINST BERNARD ROBERTS, THE CASES GROWING OUT OF THE EMPLOYMENT OF BENJAMIN ROBERTS, TWELVE YEARS OLD, WHO HAS BEEN EMPLOYED IN THE MILL.

SEVERAL MACHINIST FIRMS HAVE ACCEDDED TO THE DEMANDS OF THEIR EMPLOYEES FOR AN INCREASE OF WAGES OF 25 CENTS PER DAY. THE LARGER FIRMS, HOWEVER, HAVE AS YET NOT GIVEN THEIR ANSWER WHICH MUST BE IN BY JUNE 1, OTHERWISE A STRIKE IS CERTAIN.

THE PLUMBERS WHO HAVE STRUCK FOR \$3 PER DAY ON MAY 1, HAVE COMPROMISED ON \$2.65 PER DAY AS A MINIMUM WAGE AND HAVE GONE BACK TO WORK.

CHILD LABOR HERE.

LITTLE TOTS OF FIVE YEARS THAT ARE SLAVES OF TOIL.

CHARITY WORKERS INDULGE IN TALK AND DEMAND MORE LEGISLATION, IGNORING THE FACT THAT PRESENT CHILD LABOR LAWS ARE OPENLY VIOLATED.

"THE WOMEN OF NEW YORK HAVE BEEN MOVED TO DEEP INDIGNATION BY THE RECENT REVELATION OF THE HORRORS OF THE CHILD LABOR SYSTEM IN THE SOUTH AND IN NEW JERSEY; YET THEY REMAIN IGNORANT OF THE FACT THAT IN THIS CITY ARE INSTANCES QUITE AS BAD," SAYS ROBERT HUNTER, HEAD WORKER OF THE UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT. "THESE CONDITIONS HAVE LED THE NEIGHBORHOOD WORKERS, AN ORGANIZATION JUST FORMED OF ALL THE SETTLEMENT WORKERS IN THE CITY, TO MAKE CHILD LABOR IN NEW YORK THE FIRST OBJECT OF ITS EFFORTS. A COMMITTEE HAVE BEEN APPOINTED OF WHICH I AM CHAIRMAN, TO WORK FOR THIS OBJECT.

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TWO PAGES FROM ROMAN HISTORY.

PAGE II.

THE WARNING OF THE GRACCHI.

BY DANIEL DE LEON.

ADDRESS DELIVERED IN MANHATTAN LYCEUM, NEW YORK, WEDNSDAY EVENING, APRIL 16, 1902,
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF GREATER NEW YORK, SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

(Stenographically reported by BENJAMIN F. KEINARD.)

COMRADES OF SECTION NEW YORK:

The purpose of this second page from Roman history, "The Warning of the Gracchi," is in a measure supplementary to the first. The first page, "Plebs Leaders and Labor Leaders," was strategic, this one is tactical. The first pointed out a peculiar danger that threatens the Socialist or Labor Movement from without; this one is to point out an inherent weakness of our forces under fire. As the first was intended for aggression, this one is intended for precaution.

LAW OF REVOLUTIONARY SUCCESSION.

The Socialist is not like the chicken in the fable that, having on its back still a bit of the shell of the egg from which he just crawled, looked out into the world and said: "Why, as things are, they have always been, and will be." The Socialist, whether with such a shell on his back or not, knows that, as things are, they have not always been; and he knows that neither will they always remain so.

The Socialist looks back over history and finds "things" so far from being in a state of placid, stable equilibrium, convulsed by violent upheavals; and he shrewdly surmises the end is not yet.

The Socialist looks below the agitated surface of that agitated mass, and he discovers that its aspect is not that of tumult and chaos, merely. He uncovers there a succession of well marked social changes, many of them having existed and gone down long before his days, and been succeeded by others, that also disappeared before he was born, to make place for the Social System under which he now lives.

The Socialist looks still closer, and he recognizes in these social changes, not merely a succession, but a progression of revolutions. He perceives that it is not a case of "wave following wave," but a case of development.

With eyes increasingly trained, the Socialist detects the active agency in each of these progressive upheavals. Each of these upheavals is found to mark the downfall and extinction of a Ruling Class, achieved by a Ruled Class, which, in turn, develops, and endures "till on, a new Ruled Class, which, again in its turn, supplants its oppressor;" and so on.

Finally, equipped with the key that these researchers fit him out with, the Socialist fathoms the secret of the force latent in, and that brings on this progression of revolutions. It is the law of economic evolution. Every Ruling Class represents a distinct Economic System, born of that that went before. The overthrow of a Ruling Class means the overthrow of its Economic System. When the Economic System of a Ruling Class has worn out, when it has been sapped by the Economic System, carried in the womb of the then subject Class, it is cast aside. The downfall of a prevailing Social or Economic System is conditioned upon the ripeness of the Economic System next in order to substitute it; and the executor of such fias in social evolution is the subject Class, whose class interests dictate the new system, and that then takes the reins of government.

One illustration will do for all. Going no further back than the Feudal System, it is seen to have declined in the measure that—nursed into vigor by the sheltering boughs of the very tree of Feudalism—there rose and gathered strength a new Economic System, that was able to sap the Feudal System and render the feudal lords dependent upon it. Feudal rule was grounded on LAND. All the same, among the subject Class—the bourgeoisie, or future Capitalist Class—there rose a new, the capitalist Economic System, grounded on CAPITAL, slowly undermining the foundation of the Ruling Class, until the day came when an Economic System different from its own held it by the throat. And then came the toppling over; and then the struggle; and the Capitalist Revolution was accomplished.

Along identical lines we notice things are proceeding today, under the Capitalist System. Again—nursed into vigor by the sheltering boughs of the Capitalist tree itself—there has been rising and gathering strength a new Economic System, that is sapping the Capitalist System and rendering the modern Ruling Class, the Capitalist Class, dependent upon it. Capitalism is grounded upon the INDIVIDUAL operation and ownership of the machinery of production. And again, among the now subject class—the Proletariat, or Working Class—there has risen, obedient to their own class interests, a new Economic System—Socialism, grounded on the COLLECTIVE operation and ownership of the machinery of production. The Socialist Economic System has been gradually undermining the Capitalist; individualism in production is vanishing. When the Economic Principles of a Ruling Class are worn out, that Class itself is nearing its finale. The Capitalist Class is on its last legs. When matters come to that pass in feudal days, the victory of Capitalism followed inevitably, as night does day. Is the victory of So-

cialism, the emancipation of the Working Class, therefore equally inevitable?

The danger is natural, and, therefore, serious, of drawing automatic—or, as the Germans call it, "Schablonen"—conclusions from the principles just mentioned. "The Feudal System," one often hears asserted from many a sincere Socialist source, "overthrew the Theocratic System; the Capitalist System overthrew the Feudal System; the Socialist System MUST, therefore, inevitably overthrow the Capitalist System." Some put it this way: "Theocratic rule was overthrown by the Feudal Class; the Feudal Class was overthrown by the Capitalist Class; therefore the Proletariat will overthrow the Capitalist Class." And they consider that, by saying that, all is said that is to be said on the matter. At best these automatic reasoners may grant the usefulness of stimulating the people at large, the proletariat in particular, with descriptions of the beauties of the Socialist New Jerusalem; and there you are: The Capitalist Class will stand by, cap in hand, and allow the Proletariat—some call it "the people"—to step in; and there you have your Socialist Republic. (Applause and laughter.)

Socialist science is no automatic affair. It knows and teaches that nothing is the result of any one, but of many causes, operating together. Accordingly Socialist science submits to the microscope the solemn procession of past class uprisings. The additional observations thus gathered disclose this important fact: The Working Class, the subject class upon whom depends the overthrow of Capitalism and the raising of Socialism, differs in an important respect from all previous subject classes, called upon by History to throw down an old and set up a new Social System.

Going again no further back than the days of Feudalism, the distinctive mark of the bourgeoisie, or the then revolutionary class, was the possession of the material means essential to its own Economic System; on the contrary, the distinctive mark of the proletariat today is the being wholly strip of all such material possession. While wealth, logically enough, was the badge of the revolutionary bourgeoisie, poverty is the badge of the ripeness for emancipation of all previous subject classes, was their ownership of the physical materials essential to their own Economic System; the sign, on the contrary, of the proletariat is a total lack of all material economic power—a novel accompaniment to a revolutionary class, in the whole range of Class Revolutions.

Does this difference establish a difference in kind between the proletariat and the old bourgeoisie as a revolutionary class? It does not. But it does establish a serious difference in the tactical quality of the two forces, a difference that imparted strength to the former revolutionary forces under fire, while it imparts weakness to the proletariat.

There was nothing imaginable the feudal lord, for instance, could do to lure the bourgeoisie force from the path marked out to it. Holding the economic power, capital, on which the feudal lords had become dependent, the bourgeoisie was safe under fire. All that was left to Feudalism to maneuver with was titles. It might bestow these hollow honors, throwing them as sops to the leaders of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie was not above "rattles and toys"; but not all such "rattles and toys" could have led the bourgeoisie revolution into the ground. On the contrary, if already stripped of economic power, the feudal lords had also stripped themselves of exclusive feudal privileges, they would only have abdicated all the sooner. A "good king," "soft hearted duchess," might have stayed the striking arm for a while. But only for a while. The striking arm was bound to come down. Wealth imparts strength; strength self-reliance. Where this is coupled with class interests, whose development is hampered by social shells, the shell is bound to be broken through. The process is almost automatic.

Differently with the proletarian. It is a force, every atom of which has a stomach to fill, with wife and children with stomachs to fill, and, withal, a precarious ability to attend to such urgent needs. Cato the Elder said in his usual blunt way: "The belly has no ears." At times this circumstance may be a force; but it is only a fitful force. Poverty breeds lack of self-reliance. Material insecurity suggests temporary devices. Sops and lures become captivating baits. And the one and the other are in the power of the present Ruling Class to maneuver with.

Obviously, the difference I have been pointing out between the bourgeoisie and the present, the proletarian, revolutionary forces shows the bourgeoisie to have been sound, while the proletarian, incomparably more powerful by its numbers, to be afflicted with a certain weakness under fire; a weakness that, unless the requisite measures of counteraction be taken, must inevitably cause the course of history to be materially deflected. It is upon this vital point that the career of the Gracchi ut-

As the Roman citizen abroad in Italy had none but a potential vote—potential inasmuch as it became actual only by his presence in Rome—the Italians, who had not been turned into slaves, were mere political pariahs. They were ruled from Rome. This brought on a social alignment of dire results: Economically, the Italian population, Rome included, remained divided between the landlord-plutocracy and the proletarian classes, with the middle class cutting ever less of a figure; but both these classes fell again into two hostile camps, with the line of cleavage drawn by the Roman suffrage. On the one side stood the denizens of Rome, rich and poor together; on the other stood the Italians outside of Rome, poor and rich together. Now, then, by the slow alluvial accretions of over 300 years of habit, the ragged Roman proletarian came to consider himself a limb of the ruling power, held together with the Roman landlord-plutocracy by a common bond of political superiority over the vast numbers of free peoples in Italy, outside of Rome.

We have seen, in the course of the address on "Plebs Leaders and Labor Leaders," the baneful results of the superstition that enabled the bourgeois plebeian, under the cloak of the common designation of "Plebeian," to pull the wool over the eyes of his "fellow plebeians," the proletariat and middle class, just as in our own days the Labor Leader does to his "fellow laboring men," under the cloak of the common designation of "Labor." So now. Whenever the question came of granting the franchise to the Italians, the down-trodden proletarian of Rome joined his oppressors in violent opposition to sharing with the Italians "the purple of government."

Actuated by the giddy notions of aristocracy, that had seized the Ruling Class, it took the fancy of being the lords of large cattle and sheep ranges, rather than of farms. It carried on its designs in this way: Corn was imported free from Sicily and the Asiatic possessions. That rendered values, at least not marketable, the corn raised in Italy. Rome having by that time become mistress of all Italy, this policy spread ruin over the whole peninsula. The farmers were bankrupted: their farms were expropriated; and these were added to the lands of the ruling Romans, who thus changed the face of the Italian soil into immense cattle ranges and sheep walks, run entirely by slaves.

The social-economic situation of the time is summed up graphically in the words of Tiberius Gracchus, which I quoted in the course of the first address of this series, to indicate the utter hollowness of the Plebs Leaders' victories, as far as the middle class and the proletariat were concerned. I shall quote it here again for the sake of completeness: (reading)

"The wild beast of Italy have their caves to retire to, but the brave men who spill their blood in her cause have nothing left but air and light. Without houses, without any settled habitations, they wander from place to place with their wives and children; and their generals do but mock them, when, at the head of their armies, they exhort their men to fight for their sepulchres and domestic gods; for, among such numbers, perhaps there is not a Roman who has an altar that belonged to his ancestors, or a sepulchre in which their ashes rest. The private soldiers fight and die, to advance the wealth and luxury of the great; and they are called masters of the world, while they have not a foot of ground in their possession."

—a language that reminds one of the language of the Nazarene, about 150 years later.

When to this is added that a horde of 14,000,000 slaves is said to have been then in Italy; that not 2,000 families were possessed of solid wealth; and that the vertigo had reached the point that a Roman Knight, finding himself bankrupt, tried his luck by freeing his slaves, having them elect him their king, and starting a servile uprising, which, of course, was speedily suppressed, a picture may be formed of the social condition of the Rome of the Gracchi.

As to the political situation, it had remained unchanged, barring one circumstance that is of importance, having quite a bearing on tonight's subject.

Rome, like most of the empires of antiquity, was a city empire. Like Athens, like Sparta, like Carthage, Rome was a city-government, a city-commonwealth; and one may say she was ruled on democratic principles, in the sense that all those who had the right to a say in the government, had a say DIRECTLY, by appearing at the forum, at the market place, at a certain place, and there giving their vote. The territorial expansion of Rome brought on a change.

So long as Rome was absorbing only tribes contiguous to the city, the Roman citizen who settled upon the newly acquired territory, could, with comparative ease appear in Rome on election, or voting day, and have his voice heard. In the measure, however, that the conquered territories lay further and further away, this direct participation in the government became more difficult. When, finally, all Italy was a Roman possession, even the Roman citizen colonists were "de facto," tho' not "de jure," disfranchised: presence at the forum in Rome was out of the question.

Somehow, the mind of the ancients ran up against a dead wall in face of the problem thus presented. Modern civilization has solved the problem through "Representative Government." In Washington, for instance, the laws are enacted that govern this vast country, infinitely larger than the Italy that Rome owned. The laws proceed from Washington; but it is not the people of Washington that enact the laws. The laws are enacted by representatives of the whole country, chosen by the whole people; and in that way the whole people actually legislate. If the laws as passed do not suit them, theirs is the fault. A country can now consist of so many active citizens that it would be impossible for them all to meet and legislate; and yet, however far apart they may reside, they can exercise the suffrage and control the national legislation: representative government makes that possible.

Obviously, the difference I have been pointing out between the bourgeoisie and the present, the proletarian, revolutionary forces shows the bourgeoisie to have been sound, while the proletarian, incomparably more powerful by its numbers, to be afflicted with a certain weakness under fire; a weakness that, unless the requisite measures of counteraction be taken, must inevitably cause the course of history to be materially deflected. It is upon this vital point that the career of the Gracchi ut-

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the order in which they were played. There was a third provision that properly comes under this head. It preceded the others. It was a provision for a secret ballot,—thereby attuning a vast revolutionary purpose to clandestine methods.

SECOND ACT.

The Licinian law, described in full in the address on "Plebs Leaders and Labor Leaders," had remained a dead letter. The Licinian law, among other things, limited the number of additional acres that could be acquired by an individual from the public domain. Despite its provisions, the landlord-plutocracy had proceeded, if anything, more high-handedly than ever to appropriate what it never had a right to, being State property, but, moreover, to do so now in violation of express enactments. The Sempronian law—so called from the middle name, Sempronius, of the Gracchi—dug up the old Licinian law, and, at a time when even its provisions had lost whatever curative power they may have been in them 300 years before, proposed, not the old Licinian law in all its fullness, but that law in a diluted form. Resides the number of acres allowed by the Licinian law to be appropriated from the public lands, one half the number was now allowed in addition to each holder for each son; the remainder was to be redistributed, and indemnity was provided for possible property expropriated from the expropriator. The Sempronian law was a compromise with Usurpation.

CANONS OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.

Out of the ship-wreck of the Gracchian Movement and tactics 10 planks come floating down to our own days. They may be termed the warnings uttered by the shades of the Gracchi. They may be erected into as many canons of the Proletarian Revolution. These canons dole-tall into one another; at times it is hard to keep them apart, so close is their interrelation, seeing they are essentially differentiations of a central idea, thrown up by the singular nature, already indicated, of the proletariat as a revolutionary force:

Rome against himself. Knights and Senators suspended their wranglings, on the one hand, and on the other, all recollection of the "improved form of the suffrage" in Rome; all recollection of the Sempronian law; all expectations of relief from the prospective three colonies; aye, all gratitude for free corn was forgotten, and thrown to the winds. So completely did the proletariat fall away from its idol that the Senate and Knights found no difficulty in fomenting a sedition against him. Forsaken by all but a few close friends and one devoted slave, Gaius first took refuge in the Temple of Diana, where, falling on his knees, he implored the gods to punish the Romans with eternal slavery for their base ingratitude. Beseeched to save himself for better days, Gaius left the Temple and fled from the city across the river. But his pursuers were hot upon him, and suelide freed him from further in the Grove of the Furies.

DIRECTORY OF TRADES AND SOCIETIES.

SECTION ESSEX COUNTY, S. L. P.— The County Committee, representing the Sections, meets every Sunday, 10 a. m., in hall of Essex County Socialist Club, 78 Springfield avenue, Newark, N. J.

NEW JERSEY STATE COMMITTEE, S. L. P.— meets every third Saturday at 8 p. m., at 93 Prospect street, Jersey City. Secretary, George P. Herrschart, 93 Prospect street, Jersey City.

THE WARNING OF THE GRACCHI.

(Continued from page 2.)

gestions to "accept half a loaf, where a whole leaf cannot yet be had." The Gracchian Movement yielded to this optical illusion. Even the old Licinian law, much more so its revamped form of a Sempronian law, was cast in that mold. "All that the people were entitled to they could not get": they were to have a "first installment," a slice of what was due, in short, a palliative. The Gracchian Movement thereby gave itself a fatal stab.

If the palliative could trammel up the consequence; if it could be the all-and-all here, then, what ills might now be ignored as negligible quantities. But here also the relentless logic of the Proletarian Revolution commands the ingredients of his poisoned chalice to the bungler's own lips.

In the first place, the same hand that reaches out the "palliative" to the WRONGED, reaches out the "palliative" to the WRONG. The two acts are inseparable. The latter is an inevitable consequence of the former. Request a little, when you have a right to the whole, and your request, whatever declamatory rhetoric or abstract scientific verbiage it be accompanied with, works a subscription to the principle that wrongs you. Worse yet: The "palliative" may or may not—and more frequently yet than otherwise—be wholly visionary; the "palliation," however, is ever tangible; tangible to feeling as to sight; no visionariness there. The palliative, accordingly, ever steels the Wrong that is palliated.

In the second place, the palliative works the evil of inoculating the Revolutionary Force with a fundamental misconception of the nature of the foe it has to deal with. The tiger will defend the tips of his mustache with the same ferocity that he will defend his very heart. It is an instinctive process. The recourse to palliative proceedings from, and it imperceptibly indicates the theory that he would not proceed from the theory that the Capitalist Class will allow itself to be "pared off" to death. A fatal illusion. The body of Tiberius Gracchus, mangled to death by the landlord-plutocratic tiger of Rome, sounds the warning against the illusion. The tiger of Capitalism will protect its superficies with the same ferocity that it will protect its very existence. (Applause.) Nothing is gained on the road of palliatives; and all may be lost.

IV.

THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION BRINGS ALONG ITS OWN CODE.—When, at the critical stage of the revolution he was active in, Tiberius Gracchus took a "short cut across lots," and removed, regardless of "legality," the colleague that blocked his way, consciously or unconsciously he acted obediently to that canon of the Proletarian Revolution that it must march by its own light (applause); and he comments upon the Sempronian law in these touchingly incisive terms: (reading)

lapsed like a punctured toy-balloon. That scene should have been engraved to preserve for all time pictorially the emasculating effect of ignorance of this canon of the Proletarian Revolution upon that venturesome man who presumes to tread, especially as a leader, the path of Social Revolution, notwithstanding he lacks the mental and physical fiber to absorb in his system the canon here under consideration. (Prolonged applause.)

As I said, the Proletarian Revolution marches by its own light; its acts are to be judged by the Code of Legality that itself carries in its folds, not by the standard of existing Law, which is but the reflex of existing Usurpation. Indeed, in that respect, the Proletarian Revolution shares a feature of all previous revolutions, the Capitalist Revolution included. A new Social System brings along a new Code of Morals. The morality of the Code that the Proletarian Revolution is impregnated with reads like a geometric demonstration: Labor alone produces all wealth. Idleness can produce maggots only; the wealth of the land is in the hands of idleness, the hands of Labor are empty; such hard conditions are due to the private ownership by the Idle or Capitalist Class of the land and the tools with which to work; work has become collective, the things needed to work with must, therefore, also become collective;—get from under whosoever stands in the way of the inevitable deduction, by what name soever he may please to call it! (Prolonged applause.) Accordingly, no militant in the modern Proletarian Revolution can be knocked all of a heap by the howl of "Confiscation."

Plutarch, whom Prof. Lieber shrewdly suspects of responsibility for much of the revolutionary promptings of modern days, touching upon these two acts of Tiberius Gracchus, produces without comment—a severe sarcasm in its place—Tiberius' elaborate legal plea in defense of his removal of his colleague: a Revolution that needs to apologize for itself had better quit (applause); and he comments upon the Sempronian law in these touchingly incisive terms: (reading)

"There never was a milder law made against so much injustice and oppression; for they who deserved to have been punished for their infringement on the rights of the community, and fined for holding the lands contrary to law, were to have a consideration for giving up their groundless claims, and restoring the estates of such of the citizens as were to be relieved."

Preach to the proletarian, in the most convincing way a man may please, the abstract principles of their own, the Socialist Revolution, and then let that man seek to sugar-coat the dose with suggestions or acts that imply the idea of "buying out the capitalists," and he has simply wiped out clean, for all practical purposes, all he said before: he has deprived the Revolution of its own premises, its pulse of its own warmth. (Great applause.)

V.

THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IS "IRREVERENT."—Karl Marx—the distinctive feature of whose philosophy is that it stands with its feet on earth, and is supremely practical—throws out, right in the midst of an abstract economic chapter, the point that it is essential to the stability of Capitalism that the proletarian look upon the conditions surrounding him as of all time.

Reverence of the blind type is a fruit of latter-day Capitalism. Starting as an iconoclast, the capitalist winds up a Mawworm. And it is essential to his safety that the proletarian masses take him seriously. The root of this blind reverence is the belief in the antiquity of the subject revered; and that implies the future, as well as the past. Capitalism, along with its gods, its gods, along with it, are all pronounced "sacred," "ever were and ever will be, life without end." The capitalist foments such "reverence"; and, while he pushes his Parsons forward to do the work, he holds himself out as the High Priest. The Usurper ever needs the cloak of sanctity;—and therefore it is of importance to strip him bare of the cover.

The posture of Tiberius materially played into the hands of this useful capitalist deception. He cultivated reverence for the Magistracy. The plea in defense of his deposition of his colleague was a sanctification of the class of the Usurper. It riveted superstitious awe on the minds of the proletarian, whose striking arm never could be free until its mind was emancipated. When the reverent proletarian tramped over one another, reverently to make way for the senators, who, sticks and staves and broken furniture in hand, rushed forward to slay Tiberius, the luckless reformer could not have failed to notice that the arrow that killed him was steered by a feather plucked from his own reformatory pinions.

Irreverence—not the irreverence of insolence, which is the sign-manual of the weak, but the self-sustained irreverence that is the sign-manual of the consciously strong because consciously sound—is one of the inspiring breaths of the Proletarian Revolution.

Reverence for the Usurper denotes mental, with resulting physical, subjection to usurpation.

VI.

THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IS SELF-RELIENT.—The tactics of Gaius Gracchus in seeking support or protection in the Equestrian Order, by raising it to Senatorial powers, was a grave tactical mistake. Instead of inspiring the Proletarian Movement with self-reliance, he thereby trained it to lean on others than itself. The Proletarian Revolution must, under no circumstances, play the role of the horse in the fable.

You know the fable? It is a pretty one. A horse was being harassed by a lion. The horse found that his opportunities to graze were impaired by that roaring beast, that lay low in the bushes and threatened to jump upon him, and frequently did jump upon him, and not infrequently scratched him to the point of bleeding; so that

ture narrowing, and his life threatened either way, entered into a compact with a man. According to agreement, the man mounted the horse, and by their joint efforts the lion was laid low. But never after could the horse rid himself from the man on his back. (Laughter.)

By the action with which he clothed the Equestrian Order with the powers it had not formerly wielded, Gaius Gracchus certainly weakened the Senate, but he thereby also, and in the same measure, extended the number of the political participants in the political usurpations, that had backed and brought on the social distress which he was combating. The Equestrian Order was of the identical class that profited by the Senatorial iniquities. By setting up the Equestrian Order with powers formerly wielded by the Senate Gaius Gracchus was safer from the latter quarter,—but only in the sense that the horse in the fable was from the quarter of the lion after his alliance with the man. Gaius, like the horse, had saddled himself with a master. And the hour came when the master threw him.

That it is a waste of time and energy for the proletarian to knock down the Democratic party, however oppressive that party be, if the knocking down is to be done by saddling itself with the Republican party, a partner of the Democratic oppressor; that, however resentful the proletariat may be at a Republican President or Governor, who throws the armed force of the State or Nation into the capitalist scales in the conflicts between employer and employee, it were a mere waste of energy to substitute them with their Democratic doubles;—all that is elemental. The absurdity is illustrated by the fate of the horse in the fable. There can be no real knocking down of either party until they are both simultaneously knocked down; that knock-down blow is in the power of the proletarian only. (Applause.)

All this is elemental. But equally elemental, tho' the point be more hidden, should the principle be that the Proletarian Revolution must not only not seek, but must avoid, as it would a pestilence, all alliance with any other Class in its struggles, or even skirmishes, with the Capitalist Class, the landlord plutocracy of to-day. Here, again, the peculiar tactical weakness of the proletariat, the proneness to yield to lures, manifests itself, and needs watchful guarding against by its Movement.

There is no social or economic class in modern society below the proletariat. It is the last on the list. If there were other classes below it, the Proletarian Revolution would not be what it is, the first of all with a world-wide, humane programme. All other Classes, while seeking their own emancipation, with a national platform declaration on "municipal ownership" that plays into the hand of the sop—went down so markedly that its statisticians have had to seek shelter for their diminished heads behind "percentages." (Laughter.) Such then, was the situation in Chicago. The intelligent Socialist perceives the sop of "municipal ownership" in that campaign: it cannot escape him. The large vote polled for that capitalist "municipal ownership" proposition, so far from smoothing, can only cause his brow to pucker. That vote discloses vast chunks of Socialism, education left unattended to; vast masses left so untutored as to be caught by fly-paper. No cause for joy in the phenomenon. (Applause.) And yet this Social Democrat rejoices: (reading)

"Two-thirds majority cast for municipal ownership shows that Socialism is in the air."

"In the air,"—I should stutter! Very much "in the air,"—everywhere, except on Chicago soil! (Applause and laughter.)

Two-thirds majority cast for a municipal ownership proposition, emanating from a capitalist political party, "shows that Socialism is in the air," and is pointed to with joy!—Can you imagine such childish fatuity? For this man, the Gracchi lived and labored, bled and died—in vain! (Great applause.)

Let the modern revolutionist try the "municipal ownership" sop; and he will find himself out-municipal-ownershiped. Nothing there is more demagogic than Usurpation. For every 1 "municipal ownership" he may propose, that capitalist "municipal ownership" proposition, so far from smoothing, can only cause his brow to pucker. That vote discloses vast chunks of Socialism, education left unattended to; vast masses left so untutored as to be caught by fly-paper. No cause for joy in the phenomenon. (Applause.) And yet this Social Democrat rejoices: (reading)

"Two-thirds majority cast for munici-

pal ownership shows that Socialism is in the air." (Laughter.)

The labor field of Chicago has been convulsed a deal more than that of New York. As a result of that, or possibly due to the Lake air (laughter) the capitalist politicians of Chicago are, if such a thing be possible, "quicker" than even the New York politicians. (Laughter.) I admit that is saying a good deal. We have seen, even in New York, "municipal ownership" often of late used as a stalking-horse by individual politicians. Unterrified Socialist agitation has familiarized the public mind with Socialist aspirations, tho' still only in a vague way. The politician, being "broad" besides "quick," has no objection to polluting "Socialistic" votes. Being "quick" besides "broad," has no objection to the performance if he can indulge in it by giving the shadow for the substance, all the less if he can thereby run Socialism into the ground. "Municipal ownership" lends itself peculiarly to such purposes. It sounds "Socialistic," it looks "Socialistic";—and yet we know the term can conceal the ardent capitalist scheme. His nursery-tale theory concerning his God-given capacity to run industries having suffered shipwreck, the capitalist can find a snug harbor of refuge in "municipal ownership." It is an ideal capitalist sop to catch the sopable. (Applause.) We know all that. It is in view of all that the Socialist Labor Party "municipal programme" has been drawn up as it is. It renders the S. L. P. man sop-proof from that side. Accordingly, it is not surprising to find the "municipal ownership" sop or dodge in full blast among the Chicago politicians. It is there in such full blast that in the municipal campaign, which closed there with the election of April 1, "municipal ownership" was a capitalist party political cry: The platform so declared it; and the speeches of the politicians of that party resounded with "municipal ownership" of railways, of gas plants, of electric plants,—well, of everything in sight. And the Chicago politicians had sharp noses; how sharp may be judged from the double circumstance that the Socialist Labor Party vote at the election rose considerably, while the Social Democratic party—with a national platform declaration on "municipal ownership" that plays into the hand of the sop—went down so markedly that its statisticians have had to seek shelter for their diminished heads behind "percentages." (Laughter.) Such then, was the situation in Chicago. The intelligent Socialist perceives the sop of "municipal ownership" in that campaign: it cannot escape him. The large vote polled for that capitalist "municipal ownership" proposition, so far from smoothing, can only cause his brow to pucker. That vote discloses vast chunks of Socialism, education left unattended to; vast masses left so untutored as to be caught by fly-paper. No cause for joy in the phenomenon. (Applause.) And yet this Social Democrat rejoices: (reading)

"Two-thirds majority cast for municipal ownership shows that Socialism is in the air."

The PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION DEALS NOT IN DOUBLE SENSE.—It is at its peril that a revolution conceals its purpose. This is true with the Proletarian Revolution.

Gaius Gracchus had set his cap against the Senate. He conceived that body to be the embodiment of all evil. That he looked only at the surface of things appears from his conduct in clothing the Equestrian Order—men of the senatorial class—with senatorial powers. Nevertheless, it is the Senate he sought to overthrow. In his mind that was the barrier against social well-being. His revolution aimed at the overthrow of the Senate. But he kept the secret locked in his breast, and only allowed it to peep through by induction.

It is narrated of Gaius that, meaning

to convey the idea that, not the Senate

but the people should rule, not the Sen-

ate but the people should be consid-

ered, he differently from the orators of

old, stood with his face towards the

forum, and not towards the Senate, in

his public addresses. This was a bit

of pantomime, unworthy a great Cause

that called for plain language in no

uncertain tones. By such conduct

Gaius Gracchus could only raise dust over his designs. And that could have

for its effect only to weaken him. It

could not throw the affronted off its

guard. On the other hand, it could

only keep away forces needful to his

purpose, whom straightforward lan-

guage would attract.

It is only the path to servitude that

needs the gentle, the path to freedom

calls for the ruder hand. Pantomimes,

double sense and mummery may an-

swer the purpose of a Movement in

which the proletarian acts only the role

of dumb driven beasts of burden. Pan-

tomimes, mummery and double sense

are utterly repellent to, and repelled by

the Proletarian Revolution.

—just as we have seen proletarian forces again and again melt away in our own days. (Applause.)

Rhetoric is a weapon of reform: it may plow the ground, it does not sow. The Proletarian Revolution yields the tempered steel of sterner stuff.

IX.

THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION DEALS NOT IN DOUBLE SENSE.—It is at its peril that a revolution conceals its purpose. This is true with the Proletarian Revolution.

Gaius Gracchus had set his cap against the Senate. He conceived that body to be the embodiment of all evil. That he looked only at the surface of things appears from his conduct in clothing the Equestrian Order—men of the senatorial class—with senatorial powers. Nevertheless, it is the Senate he sought to overthrow. In his mind that was the barrier against social well-being. His revolution aimed at the overthrow of the Senate. But he kept the secret locked in his breast, and only allowed it to peep through by induction.

It is narrated of Gaius that, meaning

to convey the idea that, not the Senate

but the people should rule, not the Sen-

ate but the people should be consid-

ered, he differently from the orators of

old, stood with his face towards the

forum, and not towards the Senate, in

his public addresses. This was a bit

of pantomime, unworthy a great Cause

that called for plain language in no

uncertain tones. By such conduct

Gaius Gracchus could only raise dust over his designs. And that could have

for its effect only to weaken him. It

could not throw the affronted off its

guard. On the other hand, it could

only keep away forces needful to his

purpose, whom straightforward lan-

guage would attract.

It is narrated of Gaius that, meaning

to convey the idea that, not the Senate

but the people should rule, not the Sen-

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WEEKLY PEOPLE.

Published by the Socialist Labor Party, at 24 and 6 New Roads St., New York.

P.O. Box 1576, Telephone, 129 Franklin.

EVERY SATURDAY.

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS.

Invariably in advance

Single Copy..... 2
Six months..... 25
One year..... \$0.50

Bundle rates: Less than 100 copies, 1 cent a copy; 100 to 500 copies, 1 cent a copy; 500 or more, 1/2 cent a copy.

As far as possible, rejected communications will be returned if so desired and stamps are enclosed.

Entered as second class matter at the New York Post Office, June 27, 1900.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES

In 1888..... 2,068

In 1892..... 21,157

In 1896..... 36,564

In 1900..... 34,191

fact that Mr. Anderson announced as an independent candidate favoring public ownership was endorsed by the Dallas S. D. P. branch, is all there was to it. Not one person in fifty, perhaps, who voted for Anderson knew that he sustained any political relationship to any socialist party organization. The above are facts and the "Citizen" paragraph is a conard.

WORD H. MILLS.

Dallas, Texas, May 14, 1902.

"Canard" is a mild term to apply to such doings. It is one of the numerous glass-eggs that the Kangaroo Social Democracy, alias "Socialists" party, is placing all over the land, under the stupid hens that make up its dupes, to encourage them to keep together. We have quoted a large number of these. The "giant strides" made by this "Multi Coca" party consists of just such "strides" as the one in Dallas. It is a fraud; a stupid fraud.

Yet stupid and fraudulent tho' the performance is, it is not without its humor. Whose diaphragm is not shaken with laughter at sight of the ramshackle collection of Kangaroo Social Democratic Editors and "essayists," compelled by the lashings of the S. L. P. one day to "disown" the log-rolling indulged in by their "locals," and the next day footling up the total products of these identical log-rolls and giving that as an instance of their "giant strides"? Who is there so bereft of humor not to roar out aloud at the sight of such a rabble-rout imagining that with their glass-eggs they can pelt down capitalism, or be considered dangerous enough to be bought off by the capitalists?

Let's roaringly laugh.

THERE IS A LIGHT ABOUT TO BREAK.

THE REV. PARKHURST AND HIS VACATION.

The performance of Mr. Joseph Barondess at last Sunday's meeting of the Central Federated Union, served as a fit and speedy companion piece to another performance, that took place within the previous seven days, and in which the gentleman also figured. The two performances not only picture the individual, but, and above all they picture the lay of the land.

As stated, the theater of the second performance was the Central Federated Union. Mr. Barondess appeared there as an ambassador of the East Side "kosher meat" anti-trust agitation. The body before which he went known him well. They know he has figured as Anarchist, as Populist, as Social Democrat, at all times as an anti-Socialist Labor Party man, and that in the late municipal campaign he figured as "reformer" being closeted with and quoted by the reform candidate for District Attorney, Jerome. Did these piebald antecedents of the man, besides other still more malodorous antecedents that arome his career, stand in his way before the Central Federated Union? Not in the least. Like recognized likes. When he stated his mission—a bizarre proposition to hold the bronco of capitalism back by the tail—he was loudly applauded. And when he capped the climax by hurling defiance at the "Reform Administration," and announcing that thenceforth he would fight it with all his might (!!), the applause was very discriminative. Indeed, likes scented likes. Political adventurers recognized their kith and kin. The bogus banner of "Labor," under which the Central Federated Union plies its trade of chicanery and political corruption, spread its folds to gather in its own, just as a hen spreads her wings to gather in her chicks. Barondess was gathered in.

The other and first performance had in its theater the convention of the Independent Order of Berith Abraham, a Jewish workingman's mutual insurance association. Barondess was a delegate. It was important to his ulterior schemes to capture an office. He aimed at the office of Deputy Grand Marshall. The delegates were overwhelmingly workingmen. Barondess strutted about the convention floor as the incarnation of Workingman. But despite all his posing and stage strutting he secured only 70 votes out of over 300 votes cast.

This blow, given squarely in the face of the "Labor Leader" by workingmen, stunned the defeated "hero," and he sat all of a heap, when suddenly he started up as if stung to the quick. Indeed he was stung. The matter of the association's printing being before the house, a motion was made that the job be given to one Auerbach, a man well known on the East Side as an upholder of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, and, consequently, an implacable foe of the scab crew of the "Hebrew Typographical Union," affiliated with the organization of Hanna's labor lieutenant James M. Lynch, the President of the International Typographical Union. Small wonder that Barondess felt stung to the quick. What member of the Organized Scaberry does not feel "rattled" at the bare suggestion of the S. T. & L. A.?

Barondess, of course, did. Though his eyes were not yet open from the blow he had just received, he sailed in; and there rushed from his obscure mouth that torrent of calumny against the Socialist Labor Party for which the Organized Scaberry is now famous and that constitutes their only stock in trade. "De Legeite scabs" was the burden of the ac-

gument." Unhappy Barondess! It would have been money in his pockets and in the pockets of his set had he kept his mouth shut. He was now facing, not a Central Fakirated Union, made up of picked individuals from the Organized Scaberry; he was here facing the rank and file in a convention where the tricks of the Organized Scaberry are of no effect. To say that the convention "went for Barondess" is to put it mild. Delegate after delegate rose and soaked it into him. The gist of the speeches from the members who are not S. L. P. men was:

"We are no Socialists, but we know this: that the Socialist Labor Party is honest. It is an open foe, straight forward and plain-spoken. But you (pointing the finger of derision at Barondess), you and your set, you are crooked. You are 'friends' whom nobody can place. You talk one day one way, the next another. You are corrupt. We won't take your word. The S. L. P.'s word is as good as its bond," etc., etc.

When the vote was taken, Barondess was left with a cold 7; all the other votes were given against him, and Auerbach got his job! Barondess looked black and blue, his thrashing was thorough, and via him the whole Organized Scaberry got its drubbing.

And who will say that there is no progress? And who will say that the S. L. P. practical work of unmasking the Labor Leader is not having its effect? Finally, who will fail to recognize in the lay of the "labor-land" that its "Central Fakirations," though intended to deceive, may deceive the lunk-head politicians, but are fast losing the power to deceive the rank and file of the workers?

The two Barondess performances were worth their weight in gold.

THE REV. PARKHURST AND HIS VACATION.

If a reform administration can not govern the city, its effect in a way is worse than that of a Tammany administration, for simple depravity is not so debasing as moral incompetency.

When, in the municipal reform campaign of 1890, a statement, substantially like the above, was the answer with which a Socialist declined an invitation from the "reformers" brought to him by the Rev. Heber Newton, the Socialist was told by the Reverend that it was one of the distressing experiences made by him that "good purposes," like those of the Socialists, were always accompanied by a degree of fanaticism that hindered all progress. Twelve years have since elapsed. "Reform" went in some seven years ago, and was promptly knocked out three years later and now again a "reform" being closeted with and quoted by the reform candidate for District Attorney, Jerome. Did these piebald antecedents of the man, besides other still more malodorous antecedents that arome his career, stand in his way before the Central Federated Union? Not in the least. Like recognized likes. When he stated his mission—a bizarre proposition to hold the bronco of capitalism back by the tail—he was loudly applauded. And when he capped the climax by hurling defiance at the "Reform Administration," and announcing that thenceforth he would fight it with all his might (!!), the applause was very discriminative. Indeed, likes scented likes. Political adventurers recognized their kith and kin. The bogus banner of "Labor," under which the Central Federated Union plies its trade of chicanery and political corruption, spread its folds to gather in its own, just as a hen spreads her wings to gather in her chicks. Barondess was gathered in.

Gov. Wood, who has been the administrative ruler of Cuba for the past few years, was railroaded out of the way, and his war honors, if he had any, were appropriated so brazenly by another man, that a word on the passing of Wood is not out of the way. He was the initiator and the genius of the "Rough Riders." Roosevelt stepped in, and thanks to his louder voice, his more strenuous gall, and his more active press agent, he soon did Wood out of his "Rough Riders," and has bluntly blared about their war record and his war record with them. Wood, because of the work that he did in Cuba, was the "Spanish War hero" who should have had the nomination to the Vice-Presidency of this country. Roosevelt, thanks again to his superior boreal and oral equipment, did him out of that. So Wood has had an honorable career—no less could be given to him—but all he did and really all he was went to the building of another man. There is no law which says that the highwayman who holds up another man and takes his laurels away from him, or the sneak thief who picks another man's pockets of the possibility of reputation and high office shall be punished, but that is just what was done to Gov.-Gen. Wood, of Cuba.

Nearly 200 miners were killed in a mine explosion at Fraterville, Tenn. The horror and consternation, the pity and the ready offers of assistance to the sufferers at Martinique show that there is a great deal of humanity in the world. But they also show that there is a great deal of blindness, for the mines and the railroads kill in a year as many persons as suffered from Mount Pelee, but as these victims are workingmen no notice is taken of them.

There is a time when, regularly as summer approached, and the Rev. Parkhurst betook himself "for a vacation" to his summer home in Switzerland, he asked the question, What is he going to have a vacation from? We now suspect we did the Rev. Parkhurst an injustice. He needs a vacation. Not one but several a year. Wearing must be that man's work who labors at mopping back the Atlantic Ocean of Capitalist corruption and social ills. That man needs frequent rest. He might as well take rest before that ocean engulfs him. The Rev. Parkhurst needs plenty of rest for mind, and heart, and hand.

The Washington, D. C., "Bee," which is printed in the interest of the negroes, says editorially:

"Some time has elapsed since the Afro-American Council has begun to collect funds to test the constitutionality of certain state laws, affecting the political status of Colored American citizens in the southern states.

"Much advertisement, speech-making and many other ingenious inventions have been resorted to to arouse public interest and collect the necessary money, but without apparent success."

Then it is quite evident that the persons concerned, that is, the negroes, do not themselves take any great interest in this question: It is apparent, and has been for some time, that the "negro question" was one of the articles of the politicians' stock in trade.

The "Times," referring to the supposed attempt on the life of Emperor Francis Joseph, says: "That the essence of anarchism is mere blind brutishness was never more vividly shown than in the attempt, happily frustrated, upon the life of Francis Joseph." This method of arguing "vividly shows" the ignorance that underlies the method of thinking employed by the "Times."

It would be just as logical to say that nothing illustrates more vividly the blind brutishness of republicanism than the water cure, unhappily not frustrated, as administered to the natives of the Philippine Islands. Nothing illustrates more vividly the blind brutishness of democracy than the Bull Pen, unhappily not frustrated, as perpetrated by the Democrats of Idaho. Nothing illustrates the blind brutishness of a limited monarchy than the murders, unhappily not frustrated, carried on wholesale by the Australian troops in the Transvaal. Nothing illustrates more vividly the blind brutishness of an absolute monarchy than the treatment given the political prisoners by the Czar of Russia. The "Times" should get a ten-year-old child to do its editorial thinking for it.

The existence of anarchism is something other than blind brutishness, and that something other is the narrow and pernicious habit of placing the individual above society, and attributing to the individual the work, good or bad, that society alone can make possible.

The "Virginian-Pilot" grows angry over the action of a judge who summoned an editor before him and fined him for contempt of court in having criticized his—the judge's—decision in a liquor case. The "Virginian-Pilot" says: "When did it come to pass in Virginia that an Official Class was established, and so hedged about with sanctity that criticism of it became a felony before the law?" It came to pass the instant a class got into its own hands complete control of the courts, and the rest of the machinery of government. The "Virginian-Pilot" does not object to the principle; what it does object to is the turning of that principle from its usual ordinary use—that is, oppression of the working class—and its application within the capitalist class, as in the case cited above.

It is well to have a laugh once in a while, so for that reason we produce the following paragraph from the "Nebraska Independent," (Populist):

"Here are the socialists still trying to propagate the idea that this country can produce so much that no one will be able to get work after a while and the whole republican party back up the idea by declaring that we must engage in foreign wars to get markets or the wage-workers will have nothing to do, and then comes the pop along and smiles serenely, saying: Don't worry, my brothers. This is a great country and we have only scratched the surface of it here and there. We could give every able man work for the next hundred years making roads and irrigating the arid west. Don't worry. There is no good in it at all. There will never be an overproduction of goods as long as we have unsatisfied wants. There will never be any lack of employment as long as we have a large volume of money in circulation which is a full legal tender. But if you must worry, then set your eyes on the bankers and the men who manipulate the money supply."

The wisdom of the above is enough to make the head spin 'round, and the mind to rattle against the walls of the cranium like a lone Populist vote in the land of its birth and once puissance.

HEAVY PENALTIES FOR STRIKERS.

Paterson, N. J., May 23.—Judge Francis Scott to-day, in the Special Sessions Court, sentenced the men who were convicted of "rioting" during the strike of the dyers' helpers in this city.

The first man sentenced was Gerold Mistoli. He is the man who threw a large rock at Police Sergeant Halstead, while the latter was doing police duty at the Kinscher & Maas mills. The rock missed the sergeant and struck a telephone pole. Judge Scott sentenced him to two years in State prison at hard labor.

Bernard Fortin and Louis Secand were each sentenced to one year. They are two of the three men who made an assault on the Weidemann works, and drove all the employees into the street. The third man, John Bello, was sentenced to one year and six months. He was caught in the act of breaking down the gates of the Weidemann works.

Louis Casper and Angelo Benjamin received one year each. They were convicted of assault and battery on the non-union workmen who were working at the Rogers Locomotive Works, during a strike at the works.

BIG COLONIZATION SCHEME.

Ottawa, Canada, May 23.—It is reported that a colonization company with a capital of \$3,500,000 composed of Minneapolis Duluth and western Canadian interests, has purchased 1,100,000 acres of valuable farm lands in Assiniboia and Saskatchewan. These lands already have good railway facilities and within a few months will be intersected by the main line of the Canadian Northern, the Mackenzie & Mann Road now under construction.



Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan.

Brother Jonathan.—I have joined the "Tax Reformers' League of Tax-Payers."

Uncle Sam.—What on earth have you, a workingman, got to do with tax reform and tax-payers?

B. J.—Am I not a tax-payer?

U. S.—Not that I know of.

B. J.—Why, of course I am.

U. S.—Do you own land?

B. J.—Go away, no!

U. S.—Do you own houses?

B. J.—Stop your guffing; of course not!

U. S.—Do you own any other property on which taxes are levied, say jewelry, fine furniture, machinery?

B. J.—Now, don't go on that way; you know I am as poor as a church mouse.

U. S.—This is another way of saying as poor as a workingman or wage-slave, eh?

B. J.—Yes, certainly.

U. S.—This being thus, what do you pay taxes on, pray?

B. J.—Am I not a workingman?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—Is not labor the producer of all wealth?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—Are not taxes wealth?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—Why, then, it follows that I, as a member of Labor, pay the taxes, and that lower taxes will make me better off.

U. S.—Oho! Did you read the account of our employers' ball last week, how my employer's wife had a diamond necklace on worth \$5,000?

B. J.—Yes, and MY employer's wife had on a Brussels lace bodice worth \$6,500.

U. S.—Are that diamond necklace and Brussels lace bodice wealth or not?

B. J.—Wealth, of course.

U. S.—Produced by labor or produced by capital?

B. J. (with a look of disgust)—"By capital?" Of course not, by labor!

U. S.—Now, suppose your employer and mine had not bought that necklace and bodice, would you and I be in pocket the amount of money that they cost? Would we be the possessors of that \$11,500?

Would our wages have gone up any higher?

B. J. (scratches his ears, and after meditating awhile, during which a drop of perspiration appears on his forehead)—No. We would not have been in that much more money. Our wages would have been just as badly off as we now are. It would have made no difference to us.

U. S.—Yet that necklace and bodice are wealth, and as such, are the product of our work.

B. J.—Yes, they are.

U. S.—Would you, in the face of these facts, say that, seeing luxury is wealth and labor produces all wealth, therefore you pay for luxury, and lower or less luxury will make you better off?

B. J.—I wish there were something around here that I could sit on. I feel my head swimming.—This thing looks mixed up.—Let me see.—As Labor produces all wealth, and diamond necklaces and Brussels lace bodices are wealth, then set your eyes on the bankers and the men who manipulate the money supply.

The wisdom of the above is enough to make the head spin 'round, and the mind to rattle against the walls of the cranium like a lone Populist vote in the land of its birth and once puissance.

LET

CORRESPONDENCE.

Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.

As to the S. T. & L. A.

First—What should be the attitude of the S. L. P. on the subject of the economic organization of Labor? Should it hold such organizations to be needed, or to be wholly needless?

Second—What is the present attitude of the S. L. P. towards the pure and simple trades organization?

Third—What should be the attitude of the S. L. P. towards pure and simple organizations?

Fourth—Does the S. L. P. need the S. T. & L. A. to expose and overthrow the pure and simple organizations?

Fifth—Does the connection of the S. L. P. with the S. T. & L. A. strengthen or weaken the Socialist Movement, and in what way?

(The Roman figure over each letter indicates the numerical order in which the letter was received since the debate started under the Curran system. The Curran letter inaugurating that system is numbered Letter I.)

XXXIV.

1. To say that the attitude of the S. L. P. on the subject of the economic organization of labor should be that such an organization is needed, is not putting it strong enough. The S. L. P. MUST HAVE AN ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION! The words political-economy to the class conscious man is a blinding phrase, and the capitalist class understand from experience the necessity of the combination. Fall well do they know that the one cannot work without the other, the working class have been, and are now blindly endeavoring to accomplish something through the purely economic organization, while various reform parties seek to do something by purely political action, thus these two forces at work befuddle the working class. There is no discord in the ranks of the capitalist class as to the politico-economic organization, for they are a unit on the economic field, and when necessary combine their forces on the political field to beat the workers. Neither should there be any discord in the ranks of the working class as to a political-economic organization. And THERE MUST NOT BE ANY DISCORD. In the above sense, the S. L. P. for it is the political-economic organization for the emancipation of the working class.

But the S. L. P. has to deal with all forms of organization, not because it wants to, but because it is forced to. Hence, as we look upon it at first, two-thirds of our time is "wasted" in bunting with freaks, frauds and fakirs, and therefore the workers have been deprived of that much of the scientific teaching of Socialism. But upon a second look, we discover there is more to be taught than simply scientific Socialism. The middle class, together with all their forms of organization, must be wiped out, and so must all the economic organizations of the working class, that are not revolutionary, be displaced by that that is revolutionary. Socialism grew out of necessity and its progress to-day is as necessity demands, and its propagators understand the necessity. Had those who launched the S. L. P. in this country understood that it was necessary to launch a political-economic organization, it would have been done. It matters not at the present time as to the necessity, the ignorance of the necessity, or the inability of the S. L. P. at that time to cope with the situation. One thing we do know. Necessity demands such an organization to-day.

A hand full of unclass-conscious middle class working men launched the S. L. P. in this country. The economic labor organization at that time was not capitalistically controlled, and fakir-ridden as it is to-day, and the S. L. P. thought to induce Socialist teachings into those Unions. There is no need to mention, for we are acquainted with this failure. The only mistake, if mistake it may be called, was in carrying on this plan too long. It was kept up until from the ranks of the fakir-led "organization" came the demand for a more scientific economic organization, and the S. L. P. was up against it—there was nothing left, as I can see, for them to do but launch the S. T. & L. A. They might, had it not been for the condition of the membership at that time, but middle class business men, a few shyster lawyers and sky-pilots, together with the labor fakirs, made up the majority of the membership, hence Working Class politics and Working Class economics could not be interlaced in one organization with such a state of membership. So the S. T. & L. A. served as a cleanser, and if it never did any more good, this is enough to keep it intact as a relic. But it is still as useful in this capacity as ever. We must therefore keep it intact, as it is until the time arrives when the two can be blended into one.

2 and 3. The present attitude of the S. L. P. towards the pure and simple unions is that of hostility, and should continue to be hostile, only more openly hostile. And for this reason: 4. The S. L. P. needs the S. T. & L. A. for it would be insane to fight the pure and simple unions having no better form of unionism to offer in its stead. Hence the S. T. & L. A. serve to fight the fakir-led economic organization, and is a home for the rank and file when wrested from the fakirs.

5. As stated in the first question, there are other teachings beside simply scientific Socialism. We yet have too many abstract men in our Movement, and this debate is serving as a boiling of these to concreteness, for Socialism in the abstract at this stage of the game is not Socialism. Modern scientific Socialism up to date must embody both Socialism in the abstract and in the concrete; and, as soon as it is possible, the

economic and political must be embraced in the one organization, completely ignoring pure and simplicities, not allowing our members to hold a membership in them.

Until that time arrives we must keep intact the S. T. & L. A., as it is. The S. T. & L. A. strengthens the S. L. P. in a concrete sense.

On with the fight Comrades, let there be no falling off for victory is ours.

Wm. W. COX.

Collinsville, Ill.

Two other letters have come in, one from George Aspden, San Francisco, Cal., and one from "An Alliance Cigar Maker." They are both ruled out. The former, because it proceeds from a non-Party member; the second, because, even if it should be from a Party member, it is anonymous. Since the debate was placed on the basis of the Curran System, it has been stated, and more than once repeated, that none but S. L. P. members are allowed the floor, and that the members must give their names in full.—ED. THE PEOPLE.]

Just the Same Everywhere.— To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—Taunton also had the honor of a visit from the Honorable Weeping Jeems and his associate, Fred McCartney. The meeting was advertised with handbills in true Kangaroo style: "Mr. James Carey and Frederick McCartney, members of the Massachusetts Legislature, will lecture on Trades Unionism and Socialism. All those interested in the movement are cordially invited," etc.

No word about what "movement" what party. The cat would have been out of the bag too early. She had to jump; but it was not until at the close of the meeting when the bogus was mentioned: the "Multi-Cocoa Socialist Party," alias "Social Democratic Party," alias "Democratic Social," alias "Public Ownership Party," while Mc. after an exhibition of East Indian jugglery appealed to those present (not many) to "form a section."

What is this appeal for, anyhow? Debs in 1900 made the same blunder. There is a local of them here, and a numerically strong one, too. It consumes an untold quantity of beer each week. Its members sing the "best German songs": "Die Freiheit," and others, and it allows its members the most elaborate freedom a Socialist could wish for, a freedom the members of the narrow S. L. P. never would dream about. It allows them to vote in Republican and Democratic caucuses, it allows them to put their names on nomination papers of any color, and still be "a Socialist of the clearest water," provided you always spend enough of your earnings in intoxicating beverages to keep the hall going.

I had heard so much about Carey that I was not quite sure which of the two speakers the honor of all those attributes could fall to. Coming late, I did not know who was speaking. Carey or Mc. If I had to decide by their performances, I would have exchanged names, for Mc was the biggest juggler. Carey even was blurred in his ideas about "labor" and "labor power"—he mixed up Marx grandly.

Then he styled the economic movement the "defensive," and the political the "offensive" weapon of the working class. Nonsense! Carey had to take a train. After looking several times at his watch, he left the stage, and hall to let his light shine elsewhere.

Mc's features were a study as well as his speech. Too bad for the wind wasted. We could have had all the wind we wanted outside of the hall.

The meeting closed as the performance started. There was something to hide, something to be suppressed to more intelligent hearers, and so the usual way of closing every Socialist meeting in having questions asked and answered was dispensed with. But the chairman invited everybody to shake hands with Mc, who was not so anxious to take a train and sneak off, as his copartner, Carey.

By the way, I had a chance to look at "The Worker," the "Volkszeitung's" English poodle, or late, and its contents were just as flabby, as borrowed, as fresh, as bogus as this meeting and the whole outfit.

MAY BOEWE.

Taunton, Mass., May 16.

"Labor Bosses" in Minneapolis. To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—I became a member of the Plumbers' Labor Union in Minneapolis in November, 1898, and feel it my duty to expose the new method of "Fakedom" adopted by the labor bosses.

At the start of the union, in April of the same year, the bosses and men were paid alike, at \$1.75 per day; but since then, beginning in 1900, we were paid \$1.80 per day of 9 hours, and \$2.25 for bosses. This raise of wages we attempted to get through the Trade & Labor Council of Minneapolis, sending delegates twice to that body for that purpose, that when the employers were seen they said they never had heard anything about it from the Council!

Again in 1901 we made another attempt to get an advance, by a reduction of hours to 8 hours per day at the same rate as for 9 hours for both bosses and men. This application was also sent three times to the "Trade and Labor Council" with the same result as in the previous year. The employers knew nothing about it. The union had at this time to call three special meetings for the purpose of taking the matter into their own hands, and when a laborer would bring about his opinion of the Trade and Labor Council, the question was declared out of order. So the final result was that employers offered the bosses \$2.25 for an eight-hour day, but the laborers were to receive only \$1.75 per day, with this addition, that it went from 9 hours' work to 8 hours' slavery per day.

Now this year the laborers were going to demand \$2 per day, with \$2.50 for bosses, but the employers anticipated this demand by paying the bosses \$2.50 per day six weeks before the time set for an advance, which makes it evident that they hoped to have the bosses fight us in the union of which they and we are members. And so they did, for I personally questioned one of the bosses who was paid \$2.75 per day if he thought

we were likely to succeed in getting \$2 and he bluntly told me that he did not think so, and also refused to do anything whatever to help the members of the union to get that advance.

You will see by the foregoing that in the union we have got an advance to bosses from \$1.75 per day of 10 hours to an average of \$2.50 per day of 8 hours and now they have become the servants and lackeys of the employers, and are fighting us at every point in the union.

I, for one, am absolutely sick of unions of the pure and simple type, and would wish you to give this communication the utmost publicity you can, as it will be used to good effect in the coming campaign in Minneapolis.

Charley Lundstrom.
Minneapolis, Minn., May 15.

CONNECTICUT GAYETIES.

I.

"Our Own Julius" Misses It Again.

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—It may not be amiss to let the Comrades all over the country know what happened in the headquarters of section Hartford, S. L. P. Hall, on Monday evening, May 15.

There were only a limited number of Comrades present, when a gentleman put in his appearance introducing himself as a "Mr. Casey of Boston." The Comrades are thoroughly acquainted with what the Social Democratic Kangaroo gall means; but this man beats all records by a long range.

Under the pretence of "seeking information" regarding the Socialist Movement, he started a conversation with the Comrades.

It lasted but a short time, and the nigger in the woodpile appeared. The gent proved to be a Kangaroo of very rabid disposition, and was possessed of a very slick tongue, that enabled him to jump from one subject to another in the most approved Kangaroo style. To impress the Comrades with his ability he stated that he was capable of "turning the verdict of a jury around."

"In that case you may be one of the lawyers which the Paynomial party is 'ousy' with according to the statement of V. L. Berger, of Milwaukeee, a leading member of your party," put in a Comrade.

In short almost every subject in sight was touched. Jimmy Carey was the "best man," had worked 22 years!!! at the bench. Municipal ownership came next. The S. L. P. was dead and dying. They would wipe us out next fall here in Hartford, which statement provoked a roar of laughter from the Comrades. The S. L. P. "impedes the Socialist Movement," is in "pay of the capitalist class" to purpose, and so on, and so forth.

When he had assumed posture suitable to the necessities of his oratorical orifice, H. Gaylord pronounced himself as very much dissatisfied with the size of the audience, viz 6 S. L. P. men, 5 single-taxers, one Democratic Alderman, one Yale professor, and about 60 Kangaroos and 8 women.

He said it was evident to him that Socialism was not taking as well as it did when he was here last (11 years ago, when he had the S. L. P. back of him, and had not yet Kangaroed), as the audiences were now smaller. Then he indulged in a giggle like a lady of uncertain age, part simper and the other part chuckle.

Then he said he was surprised that President Hadley, of Yale, had not accepted his challenge to debate (rendered I believe, 11 years ago), also, said he, at one time he was surprised that many other college professors had not debated with him—that he had offered some of them twice as much money for a debate, as they received for a course of lectures on Economics, but none of them had bit at the bait, but said he, I DO NOT BLAME THEM NOW. It is better to work for the Comrades with his ability he stated that he was capable of "turning the verdict of a jury around."

Comrades Hodel, Brewer, and Lechner drove nails in each and every statement of his'n. The hammer blows fell thick and fast. The temperature grew warm in S. L. P. headquarters.

Realizing that his ability "to turn a jury's verdict" did not work with S. L. P. men, he challenged us to debate the merits of both parties.

To call the bluff on the spot, our organizer accepted the challenge and drew up the agreement to debate on:

"Resolved that the S. L. P. retards the Socialist Movement in America. Mr. Carey to take the affirmative and a representative of section Hartford, S. L. P. the negative. The debate to take place on the first Friday in June."

The organizer signed the agreement and invited that personified mixture of frank, fraud and fakir to sign also.

Right there and then he crawled into his hole; he wanted to know who would be his opponent, as if the agreement did not state enough.

But once more he rallied, saying: "It is undeniable that the Socialist Labor Party is a party of stagnation, and the Socialist Party is the party of progress. The election returns in Milwaukee prove that conclusively."

The answer came upon him like a bolt from a clear sky. The "Social Democratic Herald" of May 4th, received from the mails that very evening, was produced and the article, "As a Result of Our Agitation," on the editorial page was read. The main point in that article was that A MEETING OF SALOON-KEEPERS and OTHER BUSINESS MEN passed resolutions IN FAVOR OF A PUBLIC ICE-PLANT.

The proof of Social Democratic progress, taken from their own Social Democratic Herald staggered our friend.

Running up against the Buzz-Saw of the S. L. P. was evidently a more difficult task than to "turn a jury's verdict around."

The air in headquarters became decidedly uncomfortable, and Casey prepared to depart.

Before leaving he offered to shake hands with the organizer, but was answered:

"We are not in the habit of shaking hands with snakes and crooks."

That ended the affair.

That evening another well calculated scheme of the fertile brain of "our own and only Julius," went to smash!

We learn that this Mr. Casey is an insurance agent. Does any Boston Comrade know him?

TAURUS.

Hartford, Conn., May 17, 1902.

II.

"Our Own Gaylord" In Fantastics.

To the DAILY and WEEKLY PEOPLE—On the last of April, the Kangaroos in this town held one of their successful failures.

The attraction was a "Lecture on Trusts," by H. Gaylord Wiltshire.

Warren Hall, one of the finest in New Haven, located on Chapel street, opposite Vanderbilt Dormitory, the finest lodging house owned by the Yale University Corporation, was rented and the meeting was heralded by the newspapers, and "4 feet 2 by 3 feet 4 lithographs of the lecturer in seven colors—i.e., the lithographs—which can be obtained free of charge by writing him care of Wiltshire's Magazine, Toronto, Can."

Sets were distributed liberally around the hall—in all accommodation for not less than 400 persons—and doors were open about 7:30 P.M. The lecture was to commence at 8, but it was 8:40 when the stage was occupied. While

the audience was awaiting the appearance of the lecturer, one of the members of the Websterianites went among them offering literature for sale. One of the books offered had for a title: "A Political Quack-Doctor," and sold at 2 cents per. It was a toss-up whether I bought one, or sent this letter, but right always wins. I did not see the contents of the book, but strongly suspect that one of their "Intellectuals" heard some remarks by another of the species at one of their "Kaffee Klatches" which he could not approve of and consequently got square.

At 8:40 the platform was carried by the lecturer and William E. White, late State secretary, who acted as chairman.

The chairman in a steady flow of language, resembling the rush of ten drops of molasses from a barrel in the month of February, stated that "there were trusts in the country, and that he knew it; that the lecturer was also aware of their existence, in fact that the lecturer knew more about them than he did, and possibly no man was more familiar than he, consequently he had been engaged for the lecture, and it was now his pleasure to introduce comrade H. Gaylord Wiltshire, the publisher of Wiltshire's Magazine. In pronouncing the name "Gaylord," cut the "gay" very short, and lengthen the "lord" as long as a country deacon's prayer.

In acknowledgement of the introduction, H. Gaylord arose to his feet, resplendent in a full-dress suit, with a "White Wescott" expanded shirt front, collar that would make beautiful signboards, black oxford necktie and a red carnation on his satin coat collar, with just a suspicion that he is a walking adv. for a Corset Manufacturer. If he could have been seen by some of "our best citizens," I could see the name "Solomon" cut away from "in all his glory," etc., and the name "Gaylord" substituted.

When he had assumed posture suitable to the necessities of his oratorical orifice, H. Gaylord pronounced himself as very much dissatisfied with the size of the audience, viz 6 S. L. P. men, 5 single-taxers, one Democratic Alderman, one Yale professor, and about 60 Kangaroos and 8 women.

He said it was evident to him that Socialism was not taking as well as it did when he was here last (11 years ago, when he had the S. L. P. back of him, and had not yet Kangaroed), as the audiences were now smaller. Then he indulged in a giggle like a lady of uncertain age, part simper and the other part chuckle.

The same day I received from a comrade in Chicago, a copy of the "Chicago Socialist" of the week previous in Wiltshire's ad, it stated the regular subscription price was 50 cents per year.

So I have a letter from Buffalo saying they had a strike in John Strootman's against a reduction; that they were out three days, and a small shop is making about 200 cents per day.

But we forced the organizer to leave town without organizing.

So Strootman Brothers had to do the organizing themselves. The men fought for a raise in pay but did not get it. Now, the organized scaberry knew that the two shops were virtually one. Now I have a letter from Buffalo saying they had a strike in John Strootman's against a reduction

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 26 New Reade street, New York
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—W. S. Corbin, Secretary, 70 Colborne street, London, Ontario.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY—26 New Reade street. (The Party's literary agency)
Notice.—For technical reasons, no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p.m.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Regular meeting held on May 22, 1902, at 26 New Reade street. Eber Forbes in the chair. All members present. Financial report laid over until next meeting.

The Editor of THE PEOPLE appeared before the committee, accompanied by Comrade Justus Ebert, who is to take charge during the Editor's leave of absence, and presented the general line of conduct, which, with the approval of the N. E. C., he has pursued in conducting THE PEOPLE, to serve Ebert for guidance. Comrade Lucien Sanial has agreed to furnish regularly, editorial and other matter, but cannot come to the office but once a week, being unable for private reasons to leave his residence at Northport, L. I., for any length of time.

The Editor also referred to the N. E. C. a communication from a committee of the S. L. P. of Rhode Island. Resolved: That the N. E. C. answer the committee of the S. L. P. of Rhode Island, and issue forthwith all the documents in the matter to the Party membership. Vote on this motion, taken by roll call, was: In favor, Forbes, Gillhaus, Hammer, Katz, Kinneally and Klein. Against: Siff. It was further resolved to hold a special meeting on May 26 for the purpose of passing upon the draft of the answer to be made to the Rhode Island committee.

Section Hartford, Conn., reported expulsion of Anthony F. Donahue for having worked and voted for the Democratic party at the last municipal election. Cincinnati, Ohio, requested information upon matters that could best be given by the Ohio State Committee and the Section has been referred to that committee. New Haven, Conn., and Newark, N. J., reported as to work for the DAILY PEOPLE. Bethlehem, Pa., asked for speaker which request will be complied with. Canadian S. L. P. sent communication relative to joint representation at Amsterdam International Congress. Secretary instructed to reply that N. E. C. has communicated with Parti Ouvrier Francais and Irish Socialist Republican Party and will inform Canadian S. L. P. as soon as answer has been received. Albany, N. Y., reported about the matter of Italian club formed at Troy, N. Y., about which complaint had been received from Troy. The matter having been satisfactorily settled, was dropped.

In the matter of letters of complaint received from Los Angeles, Cal., and Erie, Pa., relative to pamphlets offered for sale by an individual member, the Secretary was instructed to reply that, while the N. E. C. would prefer to see such literature handled by the Labor News Co., it cannot make a ruling such as is evidently desired by the correspondents, and that they had better communicate their objections direct to the Party member in question.

A letter was received from Wladimir Signer giving as the reason for his resignation from the managing committee of Il Proletario pressure of work. Resignation was accepted and Camillo Cianfari chosen to fill the vacancy. A translation of an article that had appeared in Il Proletario was then read. It appears that it advocates a sort of separation of the Italian Sections and Branches from the S. L. P., forming them into a federation affiliated with the Party. It was resolved to invite the Editor of Il Proletario to attend the next session of the N. E. C. and to communicate with Comrade L. Sanial for the purpose of having him attend the same meeting and act as interpreter.

Further communications were received from New Brighton, N. Y., Rochester, N. Y., East Hartford, Conn., and other places, all of them bearing upon local conditions, work for the DAILY PEOPLE, etc.

Julius Hammer, Rec. Sec.

CANADIAN S. L. P.

Regular meeting of the N. E. C. held at London, Ont., May 19, with F. Darch in the chair. Comrade C. Corbin absent and excused. Minutes of previous meeting read and confirmed.

Communications received and read from DAILY PEOPLE, Section Toronto and Section Hamilton.

Letter from DAILY PEOPLE left with secretary to reply, giving thanks for information received. Communication from Section Toronto in reference to placing an organizer on the road, laid on the table until after the provincial elections.

Comrade Haselgrave laid before the committee the written opinion of a solicitor on the evidence and indictment of the Gordon case in Hamilton.

After a lengthy discussion it was decided to have the National Secretary notify Section Hamilton to instruct Comrade L. M. Gordon to issue a writ for \$1,000 for wrongful imprisonment against the police magistrate of Hamilton.

Committee reported progress in reference to printing press.

The National Secretary was instructed to write the National Secretary of the S. L. P. at New York that if it is possible we would wish their delegate to present us at the Amsterdam Congress.

The Secretary was further instructed to draft an appeal for publication in the official organ for funds to fight the Gordon case.

S. P. COURTEENY,
Recording Secretary.

MARION, IND.

Since its organization recently, Section Marion has taken in seven new members. The next meeting will be held Sunday, June 1, at George Ressers, corner 29th and Washington streets.

Adjournment followed.

NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE

A special meeting of t.e. committee was held on Monday, May 26, 6:30 p.m., at 26 New Reade street. J. Ebert acted as chairman, and the following members were present: F. Brackmann, J. Ebert, A. C. Kuhn, H. Kuhn, E. Muller, and A. Moren; absent, S. D. Cooper. The minutes of the previous meeting were accepted as read.

L. Abelson, organizer of Section New York, requested that 23 due stamps, lost in the mail, be replaced. Request granted.

A communication from Section Seattle, Wash., relative to the appeal in the case of Comrade W. S. Dalton was received and the answer sent by the Secretary of the Committee was endorsed.

The sub-committee, elected at the previous meeting, to revise the by-laws of Section Westchester County, reported favorably on the same with the exception of one clause. The report of the committee was endorsed and the Secretary instructed to notify the Section.

The sub-committee on organizing Long Island City reported that its work has been so far successful and that several subscribers for the Party press had been gained at the close of the meeting in that city. The report was received and the committee decided to proceed further according to the plan outlined by the sub-committee.

The Secretary was instructed to answer the communication of Section Westchester County. The Treasurer was instructed to pay \$50 towards defraying the expenses in the appeal of Comrades Wallace and Lake against the decision of Judge Nesbit.

Adjournment followed.

**A. MOREN,
Recording Secretary.****SPECIAL FUND.**

(As per circular letter, Sept. 3, 1901.) Previously acknowledged.... \$5,772 10 Section Newport News, Va.... 5 00 W. O. Purvis, St. Paul, Minn.... 1 00 Theo. Stein, Pittsburgh, Pa.... 25 Section Milford, Conn.... 4 00 Section Troy, N. Y.... 9 00 Section Troy, N. Y., collection at meeting.... 2 96 Robert Dowes, N. Y. City.... 1 00 Louis Quielette, Westbridge, B. C., Canada.... 25 Section Houston, Tex.... 6 35 Collected at farewell dinner given Comrade Lyon in Houston, Tex.... 14 75 F. D. Lyon Defense Fund balance.... 279 70 E. Forbes.... 1 00 Otto Schmid, Indianapolis, Ind.... 4 00 \$6,101 30 EDWARD DITTRICH,
Cashier.

CONNECTICUT STATE CONVENTION.

The Connecticut State Convention of the Socialist Labor Party will be held at S. L. P. Hall, 892 Main street, Hartford, May 30, 1902.

Let each section send a full delegation. Let each section furnish candidates for a full State ticket and let each section send a complete report of its work since the last convention.

The Convention will assemble at 9 A. M. sharp. Those desiring lodgings should notify the committee at once so that arrangements can be completed.

Connecticut State Committee,

Jas. J. Mance, Secretary.

OHIO S. L. P. STATE CONVENTION.

The Ohio State Convention of the Socialist Labor Party will be held at Cleveland, Friday, May 30.

Delegates and visiting comrades are requested to notify the chairman of the Reception Committee, Comrade Robert Zimmerman, 40 Rowley street, at what time and on what train they will arrive.

The headquarters of the Reception Committee will be at the office of the "Cleveland Volksfreund," and "Socialistische Arbeiterzeitung," 239 St. Clair street, corner Ontario street, second floor.

We recommend Hotel Pence, corner Superior and Spring streets, to comrades who wish hotel accommodations.

The convention will be called to order at 9 A. M. in Sloss Hall, (Germ. Am. Bank Building) 356 Ontario street, top floor.

F. C. Christiansen,
Secretary.

CLEVELAND, O. May 1, 1902.**WASHINGTON STATE CONVENTION.**

Seattle, Wash., May 24.—A Mass Convention of the Socialist Labor Party of Washington will be held in Seattle at Section Seattle headquarters on July 27, at 10 A. M. All members in good standing will be seated as delegates.

By order State Ex. Com., S. L. P.

T. J. Dean, Sec.

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Section New York, Socialist Labor Party.

Regular meeting held Saturday, May 24, 1902, in the DAILY PEOPLE Building, 26 New Reade street. Chairman, Donald Ferguson; vice-chairman, E. Gello.

Two new delegates were seated.

Nine new members were admitted. The resignation of S. Mundell, 26th A. D., Manhattan, and P. Napolitano and J. Gerza, Italian Branch, Brooklyn, were accepted.

Owing to the growth of the 34th and 35th A. D., Manhattan, it was decided to form separate district organizations.

M. Moskowitz, E. C. Schmidt, and John Walsh were elected to succeed A. Bracher, A. Orange, and George Cook on the Entertainment Committee.

The Brooklyn Assembly Districts were granted the privilege to arrange and hold an entertainment on Labor Day, 1902.

It was decided to endorse the action of the National Executive Committee in arranging to bring an Irish Socialist agitator to this country; and a large demonstration was decided upon, the locality to be decided by the City Executive Committee.

Committee reported progress in reference to printing press.

The National Secretary was instructed to write the National Secretary of the S. L. P. at New York that if it is possible we would wish their delegate to present us at the Amsterdam Congress.

The Secretary was further instructed to draft an appeal for publication in the official organ for funds to fight the Gordon case.

S. P. COURTEENY,
Recording Secretary.

MARION, IND.

Since its organization recently, Section Marion has taken in seven new members. The next meeting will be held Sunday, June 1, at George Ressers, corner 29th and Washington streets.

Adjournment followed.

A. C. KUHN, Secretary.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS IN CHICAGO

Thursday, May 29.

Clark and Erie streets, 8 P. M.

Ruby and Milwaukee streets, 8 P. M.

Saturday, May 31.

Milwaukee and Paulina streets, 8 P. M.

Ashland and 51st streets, 8 P. M.

Pullman, 8 P. M.

Sunday, June 1st.

Halsted and 63rd streets at 3 P. M.

Clark and Chestnut streets at 8 P. M.

State and Congress streets at 8 P. M.

Cottage Grove avenue and 60th street at 8 P. M.

Tuesday, June 3rd.

Clark and Erie streets at 8 P. M.

Madison and Ada streets at 8 P. M.

Wednesday, June 4th.

Cottage Grove avenue and 61st street at 8 P. M.

Thursday, June 5th.

Orchard street and North avenue at 8 P. M.

North avenue and Fairfield avenue at 8 P. M.

Saturday, June 7th.

Milwaukee avenue and Paulina street at 8 P. M.

Clark and Chestnut streets at 8 P. M.

11th street and Michigan avenue at 8 P. M.

AGITATION IN LYNN, MASS.

The agitation committee of Section Lynn has arranged a list of meetings to be called at 8 p.m. sharp. Comrades whose names are included in list below, take notice.

The committee wishes to call attention to the fact that the success of street meetings does not depend entirely upon the speakers. The comrades should attend the street meetings faithfully and help to make them a success. There are many things taking place here against which the workers should be warned. Every comrade should turn out at the meetings to gather names, distribute and sell literature and otherwise aid in pushing the work of propaganda.

May 20, M. Tracy and F. B. Jordan, Liberty street.

May 30, M. Breen and J. R. Oldham, Federal square.

June 2, F. Birtwill and F. B. Jordan, Blake street.

June 5, J. W. Ryan and J. R. Oldham, Liberty street.

June 6, W. Deans and F. Kees, Federal square.

S. L. P. LECTURES IN CLEVELAND, OHIO.

June 1st—"Patriotism," by Paul Dinger.

June 8th—"The S. L. P. and the S. P." by John D. Geerke.

June 15th—"Industrial Crisis" by Richard Koeppl (lecture in German).

The above subjects will be discussed

Sunday afternoons at 2:30 P. M., at 356 Ontario street, German American Bank Building, top floor.

MEETINGS IN THE 22d CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS.

Edwardsville, May 31st.

Freeburg, June 1st.

Speakers—Philip Veal, candidate for

Trustee of the State University, and William W. Cox, candidate for Congress.

AGITATION IN MILWAUKEE, WIS.

An agitation meeting will be held Saturday, May 31, 8 P. M., at Schreiber's Hall, corner of Fourth and Sherman.

Lecture in German by Chas. Minkley.

Subject, "The Trust." After the lecture free discussion.

The Organizer.

LECTURES IN WILMINGTON, PA.

June 1—W. H. Thomas.

June 8—William Adams.

PITTSBURG LECTURES.

Sundays 3 P. M., at Headquarters, 510 Wyllie avenue.

June 1—J. D. McConnell—"Scientific Socialism."

June 8—John F. Taylor—"Municipal Socialism."

ESSEX COUNTY, N. J.

Section Essex County, N. J., will hold

an important meeting on Sunday, June 1, at headquarters.

W. Walker,
Organizer.</p